## NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

FROM OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENT

LONDON, MAY 7, 1852. The militia bill was further discussed in commit-

great modifications will have to be made in it before it passes the ordeal of the committee. The bill for continuing the property tax for one year was read a three months yet. A great, a decisive imperialist manifessecond time. Mr. D'ISRAELI seems to have been tation will be made next week; of that there can exist no whipped into order by some of his rebellious colleagues. doubt. But "one swallow does not make a summer." He intimated last night that he "had not given any opin- True, we have had many swallows; but all of them, as ' ion as to the future financial policy of the Government | yet, like the noisy flock we shall see on Monday, Tuesday, ' facts. His opinions on agricultural distress remained ' in office." "Non committal" is the controlling principle of the Derby Cabinet, and particularly that of Mr. D'ISRAELL.

The returns of the Bank of England for the last week exhibit the following results: The circulation decreased £416,269, the public deposites £271,912, the discounts £565,680, and the bullion £27,398. The reserve or unemployed fund is now £11,988,825, the bullion \$19,587. 670, and the circulation £21,598,845. There is no alteration in the money market or the exchanges. Business has been dull at the Stock Exchange, owing in part to the re-establishment of the Bonaparte imperial dynasty in rumors of a divided Cabinet. The calls for payments for France. Here is the article. I translate from the French: railway construction for the month of May has fallen off from £1,093,899 in 1850, to £237,156 in 1852. No less than £5,651,647 was expended during the first five months

of the year, an increase having been shown on that occaduring the first three months of 1852 has been £16,575,748. against £16,523,344 in the like period of 1851, showing an increase of £52,404.

As regards imports, apart from the diminution in grain, the quantities of articles of food and luxury taken into consumption show much steadiness, and a satisfactory increase in several leading instances. Coffee, tea, cocoa, sugar, spices, and tobacco all show an augmentation more or less considerable. In wines, spirits, fruits, and salted provisions there has been a decrease. The imports of raw materials for the month ending April 5, for 1851 and 1852, were respectively as follows:

		1851.	1852.
	Flax, cwt	24,123	34,075
	Hemp, cwt	63,789	18,107
	Raw silks, lbs	898,983	281,202
	Cotton, cwt	884,113	423,090
ė	Wool, lbs	3,495,949	.1,608,155
	Tallow, cwts	23,858	32,815

Late arrivals from Australia represent the gold business to be increasing. Its ill effects upon the great staples of the country are beginning to be visible. During and of which it has been said toto divisos orbe Britannos the first six months of the gold excitement the exports of tallow from Sydner had fallen off 6,000 casks, and the march, the one towards the East and the other towards the color of the country are beginning to be visible. During the country are beginning to be visible to be a country are beginning to be visible to burn and the country are beginning to be visible to be a country and the country are beginning to be visible to burn and the country are beginning to be visible to burn and the country are beginning to be visible to burn and the country are beginning to be visible to burn and the country are beginning to be visible to burn and the country are beginning to be visible to burn and the country are beginning to be visible to burn and the country are beginning to be visible to burn and the country are bu number of hides decreased 3,000. The exports of wool, also, which in 1948-'49 and 1849-'50 averaged 52,000 versed the world. The place appointed for this solemn bales, had in 1850'-51 fallen to 48,000 bales.

It is highly flattering to the character and capacity of the natives of New ZEALAND that in the projet of a constitution for those Islands, as brought into the House of Commons by Sir John Pakingron, all the natives holding property to a certain amount, say freehold value £50, or renting a house worth £10 per annum, are to possess and exercise the elective franchise on an equal footing with the white or European population, and be equally eligible to legislative or municipal official position. We believe this is the first instance upon record where equal privileges and rights have been accorded to a native population. The reason is, no doubt, that the New Zealanders are the first native population which, at the establishment of representative government, has been judged capable of their East India domination voluntarily. Extension, pro-appreciating and worthily enjoying the advantages it pagation, sway, is the forced condition of their race. It is

We have again a very scanty supply of fereign news. The FRENCH papers, at least such as dare express such an opinion, represent the President as being much thwarted by foreign diplomacy in his design of assuming the title of Emperor. M. Kis-SELET, the Russian envoy, is said to have received instructions from his sovereign to take his passport and depart as soon as this event occurs. He has and insatiable pioneers cast coveting eyes upon those renot yet notified to the French Government these in- gions so abounding in riches to which they are forbidden structions of his court, but he has spoken of it to several of the foreign ambassadors, so that Louis Napoleon is perfectly aware of what will be the first consequence of his proclaiming the Empire. The plan which will be adopted is said to be the following: The Senators will vote an address, demanding to submit the question to the nation, and requesting the people to decide between the restoration of the empire or a return to the old monarchy. The Bonapartists do not doubt that a great majority would decide for the Fernier. They would the second majority would show the formula of the formula of the formula of the fernier.

inauguration of harmony among several of them who have hitherto been separated by political or other differences. Both the Prince DE CANINO and NAPOLEON, the son of Jerome, were present. The latter, from his oppo-sition to the President and his connexion with the *Red* Republicans, has hitherto been called the Prince of the ountain. This reunion is variously interpreted; we will

not presume to have an opinion respecting its solution.

Incendiary fires, attributed to political feeling, have of late been very frequent in France. In the Haut Rhin alone there have been seventeen fires of this description

The French papers announce the death of General Con-DORGET O'CONNOR, better known as ARTHUR O'CONNOR, at his estate of Bignon, in the 80th year of his age. Mr. O'CONNOR was better known to the last generation than to the present one, having spent the latter half of his life in retirement, and, we trust, in peace and happiness.

FROM OUR PARIS CORRESPONDENT.

PARIS, MAY 8, 1852. We have little news, either political or of any other sort, since the date of my last, but I am unwilling to let the Humboldt sail without bearing to you at least a short letter.

Paris has not been so full since the palmiest day

hotels are filled to overflowing, and most enormous prices are asked for ordinary accommodations that will afford shelter for a few days to the end of next week. Do you ask the cause of this extraordinary animation in Paris? It is nothing more or less than the desire to be present at the grand military fite, to the coming of which your correspondent has so often alluded. Thousands are confident that the tee in the House of Commons last night, and the second week in May, a week that has already comdebate adjourned until this evening. Although all the clauses so far have been carried by large mament of another imperial period. I think that all jorities, yet the opposition to it is very earnest, and such will be disappointed. The Empire is coming as when he brought on his budget, but had merely stated and Wednesday next, have been merely symptoms of the summer that is still to come. The senatus-consultum and unchanged, and the policy he had advocated in opposition the plebiscitum are to follow, and I believe they will be tion he should, as far as possible, endeavor to carry out allowed to regularly follow, the acclamations of the soldiery at the distribution of the eagles. I am still of opinion that things will take the course I have all along indicated as the natural and probable one.

I cannot forbear, while on this subject of the Empire sending you the following extract from the Public, a Bonapartist paper of Paris. It affords the best specimen I and securities £146,712; the private deposites increased have seen lately of the arrogance, impudence, and overweening self-estimation which characterize the French in a more marked manner, perhaps, than any other people; perhaps even more than ourselves. The article is in allusion to the possible opposition of the Northern Powers to

"What! Europe will arm if Napoleon III. should be proclaimed Emperor! What an absurdity! Why, it is to be more certain of it; it is that the fact may be better than £5,651,647 was expended during the first five months of 1850; only £2,065,473 will be wanted for the same portion of the present year. The corn market is dull, and maintains with difficulty the advance of last week. The average price of wheat during the first three months of average price of wheat during the first three months of 1852 was 4s. per quarter above that of the last three months of 1851. These is very little variation in the Colonial and Foreigr produce market.

The Board of Trade tables for the month ending the 5th of April were issued this morning. Compared with the returns of the corresponding month of last year, they show a decrease of £564,781 in the declared value of our exportations. This decrease has chiefly been in cotton. exportations. This decrease has chiefly been in cotton, linen, and woollen manufactures, and in metals, and is to be accounted for, first, by the fact that the exportations in the same month of 1851 were much beyond the average in the same month of 1851 were much beyond the average empires and of kingdoms who, after the despicable remains and of kingdoms who after the despicable remains and of kingdoms who after the despicable remains and of kingdoms who after the despicable remains and the latter of the Libror; from the Vistula to the Libror; from the Libror; from the Vistula to the Libror in the Libro sion of nearly £1,200,000; and, next, by the continuous diminution in our purchases of foreign grain and flour, which, together with the severe distress in many parts of the continent, affects the ability of our foreign customers. The continent of the received and the received volution of 1848, had sufficient respect for France not The state of the weather and the prevalence of easterly winds, which for so long a period has limited the supply of vessels in port, may also have had some influence in checking shipments. The aggregate value of our exports

Here is another article, which I am sure you will welcome to the columns of the Intelligencer. It is from a different journal, on a different subject, dictated by a different spirit, founded upon a different and deeper philosophy. The American naval expedition just sent to Japan from the United States has been matter of comment in all the French journals. These comments are generally in a kindly spirit toward us. But I have seen none except in the Debats which I deem worthy of special note. The Journal des Debate of the 3d instant contains an article upon this subject which I think so remarkable on several accounts that I cannot refrain from translating it for you. It is extremely rare to see a Frenchman able so to rid himself of prejudice as to judge impartially the rival

alized in our day by the children of that adventurous, in-domitable race which is scattered over the whole universe,

rendezvous is the fabulous empire which has been called the 'Middle Empire,' and which we may name with the poet 'the womb of the world.'

"To complete the circuit, and give to each other the hand. there now remains but one obstacle to be overthrown; it is the last defence of the old world—the great wall of China. Before long, the English and the Americans, speeding like the winds from opposite extremities of the earth, with their steam and their powder, will take this last entrenchment between two fires, and under their re-peated attacks it will fall as fell the walls of Jericho at the sound of the trumpets.'

The writer then goes on to describe the rise and pro gress of English domination in the East. China will sooner or later fall before them. They will not seize upon China voluntarily any more than they have created and built up destiny! "While the English are marching to the assault of old Asia by the way of the Red Sea and the Cape of Good Hope, behold the Americans are setting out for the same goal by the way of the Pacific. The Government of the United States is sending a fleet to Japan. By-andby we shall probably see the Americans opening a way with cannon into this motionless mass as the English have lately done in China. Long since have these hardy access. Heretofore they have visited those regions merely as scouts and reconnoiterers. They are now going to present themselves as a sovereign Power."

Then follows an article on the Japan expedition, quoted from the New York Courier and Enquirer, and M. LE-MOINNE concludes his remarks with the following passage: The Bonapartists do not doubt that a great majority would decide for the Empire. They would thus defeat the hopes of the Legitimists, and acquire a national title, which they would oppose to the counter-feeling and ill-will of the foreign Cabinets.

Prince Jerome Bonaparte gave a dinner on Monday to the President, at which all the members of the Bonaparte family attended, and the affair is talked of as a sort of the Christian religion. The Chinese and the Japan-see do not wish to recognise the rest of mankind. For est do not wish to recognise the rest of mankind. Foreigners are to them barbarians and enemies; they close their ports against them, and when the tempest throws them into their hands they massacre them. It is the principle of the Jews, who would not recognise the Gentiles; it is the principle of the principle of the Jews, who would not recognise the Gentiles;

it is the principle of the pagans, who call strangers and enemies by one and the same name—hostes.

"On the other side is the principle which declares that all men are children of the same family, and owe to each other mutual assistance; that no nation has the right to close its ports to the shipwrecked, nor to refuse them succor; that hospitality is a duty, as asylum is a right; that no people have a right to isolate themselves from general society, or to withdraw from common responsibility; that there are certain reciprocal duties which may be mutually claimed and exacted. This is the Christian principle; the principle of charity, of fraternity, and of good fel-

lowship.
"Such is the battle which is now being waged in the old Asiatic world. It is the struggle of progress against immobility, of the spirit against the letter, of grace against the law. How can the issue of such a struggle be

"What the Americans are doing now is the realization of the dream of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS. It is said of Columbus that when he started on the voyage which resulted in the discovery of America, he expected to make land first on the eastern coast of Asia; he was seeking a and that in the mean time he select several ministers to Paris has not been so full since the palmiest day new passage to the East; and when he discovered land, perform the Episcopal functions during his at of Louis Phillippe's reign as at this moment. The he supposed that he had arrived at the Indies. It was

the New World which he encountered. Christian civili-

the New World which he encountered. Christian civilization established herself there in passing; she took possession of the soil and planted there the cross.

"Behold her now recommencing her eternal pilgrimage, and continuing the circle of her revolution. From the New World, whence she has drawn new energy, she presses onward to descend upon the Ancient World, of which she will complete the dissolution. It may be that many years will be necessary for the accomplishment of this work of conquest, absorption, and assimilation. Joseph De Maistre said: Doubtless, no crusade succeeds; even children know this; but all have succeeded; and it is this that even men will not see. Thus we see pothing this that even men will not see. Thus we see nothing commence and nothing terminate under our eyes because we are so infinitely little. Ten years, twenty years! What we are so infinitely little. Ten years, twenty years! What is such an imperceptible period in the vast sum of ages? But this spectacle of two peoples, children of the same race and of the same God, going forth over continents and seas to meet again and become once more united, will be for the future one of the most poetic, one of the most epic spectacles in history.

"They are on the march. Nothing will ever again are the affect of the presch is open, and by this based will

rest them. The breach is open, and by this breach will enter the flood of the gospel, of which it has been said that it will renew the face of the earth."

The following official communication from the Government appeared in the Moniteur of this morning. Much satisfaction is caused by this flourishing condition of the

"The Moniteur of . 5th of April, conformably to custom, published a full account of the revenue from direct and indirect taxation during the first three menths of and referring to Mr. Fillmore's peculiar fitness for 1852, and a comparison of this revenue with that of the corresponding period of 1851.

"According to these accounts the month of January, 1852, produced about 600,000 france less than January,

"February, 1852, yielded about 1,800,000 francs more

than February, 1851; and March, 1852, yielded about 5,000,000 more than March, 1851. "This progressive movement is much more marked for month of April. Results which have come to the Minister of Finances indicate for this month, as compared with April, 1851, an augmentation of about 9,500,000

rancs.
"This so rapid increase is the most striking sign of the prosperity of France, and it assures to the freasury much larger receipts than were anticipated in the budget

PRESBYTERIAN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, (NEWSCHOOL.) YESTERDAY'S PROCEEDING

On motion of Mr. ROWLAND, the complaint of the Park Church at Newark was made the order of the day immediately after the disposal of the question before the house. The discussion on Mr. Ranney's amendment was then resumed, and continued until 12 o'clock; when, on motion of Judge Darling, the discussion was arrested and the subject referred to a special committee consisting of twelve members, viz. Rev. Dr. Taylor, Dr Beman, Rev. P. H. Fowler, Dr. A. D. Smith, Dr. Lyos, Rev. S. W. Fisher, and Rev. R. W. Patterson, with Judge Darling, Judge Jessup, R. G Pardee, J. Ogden, and H. Maynard,

A recess was taken soon after one o'clock, when the omplaint of the Park Church at Newark against the Synod of New York and New Jersey was taken up. The Assembly listened first to the complaint itself, and then to the whole record of the proceedings of the Synod in the case. Before the conclusion of the reading of the documents, the Assembly adjourned till 41 o'clock.

In the course of the session's letter was received read from Rev. JOSEPH H. JOKES, D.D., Secretary of the \*Corporation for the relief of Presbyterian Ministers and their widows and children, forwarding for the use of the Assembly a number of copies of an address on the

At the Evening Session the celebration of the Lord's Supper was solemnized. Valedictory addresses from retiring Members were then heard, and responded to by the

A vote of thanks to the several Railroad companies which had permitted members to travel here at reduced

large donations in books, &c. were increasing vastly the resources of the institution and its facilities for theologisembly was deferred until the meeting of the next General Assembly. The report on the overture from the Presbytery of New Jersey, against a change in the book of discipline in relation to the mode of taking testimony, elicited warm debate. The report was finally adopted by a vote

On Monday the Report of the Board of Foreign Misions was taken up, and the Rev. Mr. WRIGHT, from one of the Indian missions, gave an account of the flourishing condition of the Choctaw Mission. There were twelve churches among the Choctaws, and thirteen hundred members of the Presbyterian Church, besides large numbers of Baptists and Methodists. He said that they value education, and are rapidly advancing in knowledge and civilization; have a good system of laws and well-regulated social state; and have the New Testament and Catechisms in their own language, and flourishing schools for both sexes. Mr. Dickey spoke on the subject of the Missions in Africa. Mr. RANKEN, a missionary from India, spoke on the subject of the East India missions. He stated that within a district of four and a half millions of inhabitants, near Futteghur, there is not one missionary. He said there was a church of colored people in this city whose members contribute \$3 each to the cause of missions, to which the Church at large by no means came up. The Rev. John C. Lowrie stated that there are seven missions among the Indian tribes, with schools for children, and that lay assistants were greatly needed. He stated that the subject of missions to California and other Western districts was under consideration of the Board, and mentioned that the King of Siam (a field which a year ago it was thought must be abandoned) was now inviting he missionary into his country and into his own family.

sisted in the opening religious services. The Convention sermon was preached by the Rev. HARVEY STANLEY, Rector of Holy Trinity parish in Prince George's county. It is pronounced to have been a very able discourse.

After the dispatch of preliminary business, the annual address of Bishop WHITTINGHAM was read to the Convention. In the concluding part he suggests the acceptance of his resignation, or the appointment of an Assistant Bishop, with whom he is willing to divide his salary, as his health is too feeble to allow him to attend to the duties devolving on him. This part of the address was re-Evans, Esq., Judge Goldsborough, and Judge Higgins.

This committee yesterday reported against accepting the Bishop's resignation, and recommended him to take a protracted voyage to Europe for the benefit of his health; perform the Episcopal functions during his absence. This

## THE CAMPAIGN.

POLITICAL MEETING AT NASHVILLE.

FROM THE NASHVILLE TRUE WHIG OF MAY 21. Meeting of Saturday-Keep the Record Correct. The American of Sunday morning promises a full account of the proceedings of the Whig meeting held in this city on Saturday, and says:

"The meeting positively refused to approve the late onduct of Gentry and Williams in the Washington caucus Altogether, it was an entire triumph of the Jones, alias Scott, clique. The Whigs of Tennessee may consider themselves fully sold, as we have already predicted they would be."

There is no justification whatever in the proceedings the meeting for the leading idea embodied in this paragraph—the triumph of Scott over Fillmore. We have never seen manifested in any public assemblage in Tennessee a more ardent and cordial determination to stand by President FILLMORE to the end, and adhere to the Compromise as an ultimatum in the Whig National Convention. The official proceedings of the meeting, which we published yesterday, give a flat contradiction to any other conclusion. The resolutions then and there unanimously adopted declare, "in view of recent events at Washington city," the office of Chief Magistrate, "that we cannot, therefore, divine a single sufficient reason why he should be set aside to make way for any man in the United States, as the Whig candidate at the ensuing election"—"that we will not support the nominees of the Whig National Convention except they shall be publicly and unequivocally pledged to regard the Compromise measures as a final adjustment, and maintain them inviolate."

It is clear, then, that the Whigs of Tennessee are not it sold "except it he to their "first love" the facilities.

"sold," except it be to their "first love," the finality of the Compromise, the basis of their admiration for Mr. Fillmore. No Whig in the meeting expressed a preference for Gen. Scott over Mr. Fillmore—all were earnest and for Gen. Scott over Mr. Fillmore—all were earnest and enthusiastic in their expressions of admiration and preference for him over all others; the unanimous resolve of the meeting was that they would support no man who did not occupy publicly the same position with Mr. Fillmore upon this question.

It might be inferred from the remark of the American that the meeting impliedly expressed disastisfaction with the conduct of Messrs. Gentry and Williams. Not so. Happily their resolution on this point is on record to speak for itself. Here it is:

"Resolved, That, satisfied of the true devotion to the finality "Resolved, That, satisfied of the true devotion to the finality of the Compromise of the entire Whig delegation in Congress from Tennessee, we forbear all expression of opinion upon their recent variance of judgment on the temporary question arising in the Whig Congressional Caucus, believing that all were actuated by elevated sentiments of public duty; and that our true interest as Southern men is to preserve all our forcin National Convention by cultivating harmony at home and unity among the friends of the Compromise."

This resolution was adopted in lieu of one expressive on

This resolution was adopted in lieu of one expressly en dorsing the course of the seceding members, Messrs. Gentry and Williams, in the Whig Congressional Caucus of the 20th of April, and passing by, without reference to or approval of the course of Jones and Cullom, who did not secede. This the majority deemed liable to be construed into an implied censure of the latter gentleman. Such censure the meeting was unwilling to pronounce upon either party, and thus present at least the semblance of a division at home (which does not really exist) upon the main question involved—the propriety of maintaining the Compromise as an ultimatum in the Whig National Convention. The real issue, indeed, between the advocates of the original resolution and the friends of the amendment in lieu, was not whether Gentry and Williams or Jones and Cullom had done wrong, but whether, with the informa tion before us, under existing circumstances, we should undertake to say so. The meeting decided, by a very large majority, that they would not pronounce judgmen upon that question at this time and under existing circumstances; "and that our true interests, as Southern men. is to preserve all our force in the National Convention, by cultivating harmony at home and UNITY AMONG THE FRIENDS OF THE COMPROMISE." The resolutions, as thus amended passed unanimously, amidst much good feeling, after five hours of incessant and earnest but friendly and courteous

There was no "triumph" of any "clique" in the pro upon that record, as one man, in favor of the recognition of the Compromise as an ultimatum in the coming canvass, and in favor of Fillmore as pre-eminently their first

choice for President. they have been sadly disappointed. We commiserate them upon a result so barren of "aid and comfort" to them. But we have no consolation to offer them in the future, except the sound drubbing in November, which this spirit of unanimity betokens. We advise them betimes to look to their laurels. The Whigs of Davidso county, "a portion of the Whigs of Tennessee," have vin-dicated their determination to stand together upon the Compromise platform, all the time, and to the end, whatever temporary differences may arise between favorite representatives at Washington. And it is plainly more and more apparent every day that no man can so certain-ly and efficiently rally the Whig strength of Tennessee as ILLARD FILLMORE.

> THE COMPROMISE-THE PRESIDENCY. SPEECH OF MR. CULLOM,

OF TENNESSEE. IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MAY 17, 1852.

The House having resolved itself into a Committee he Whole on Territorial business-Mr. CULLOM said: Mr. Chairman, I regret that I fee strained upon this occasion, from a sense of duty to the

Whig party no less than to myself, maintaining the atti-tude which I do and have done from early life in that party, and maintaining as I do certain relations toward certain movements of that party—I regret, I say, that I feel constrained, in order that my position may be understood, here and elsewhere, in relation to the exciting questions to which the public mind is directed, to depart from what has been my settled purpose in relation to thes questions. I had not intended, Mr. Chairman—and m silence upon this floor will attest the sincerity of this avowal—on taking my seat here as a member of this House, to consume the public time, the time legitimately belonging to the business of legislation upon the great in terests of the American people, in expressing my opinions He offered up an impressive prayer on the subject.

The Annual Report of the Princeton Theological Seminary was presented, showing the attendance of one hundred and thirty-three students during the past year, and the flourishing condition of the institution. Forty young men had completed their course within the year and received their certificates—the largest class ever graduated. The death of the Rev. Dr. Alexander was announced with a feeling tribute to his memory.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CONVENTION.

The sixty-fourth annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the State of Maryland convend on Wednesday morning in St. Paul's Church, Baltimore. The Right Rev. Bishop Whittingham presided and assisted in the opening religious services. The Convention

What, Mr. Chairman, was the legitimate object of that

What, Mr. Chairman, was the legitimate object of tha cancus? It was called by the Whig chairman for the sole purpose of designating or recommending the time and place for the meeting of the Whig National Convention. place for the meeting of the Whig National Convention. This, and this alone, was its object. Other gentlemen thought, or acted as if they thought, it had another and more extended object and province in connexion—to do what the people have assigned to the Convention to do, namely, to prescribe certain rules, in part a platform for the party in the coming campaign; and I regret deeply, and I express it here, that I should have had occasion in that meeting to differ with any portion of my Whig brethren—(I will call them brethren, because I have stood wide by side with them for years.) With them I have thren—(I will call them brethren, because I have stood side by side with them for years.) With them I have fought for the glorious and cherished conservative principles of our common party—the principles which involve the weal and perpetuity of the institutions of our great, and prosperous, and happy country. I have been with them in victory and defeat; but, sir, I have never been called upon publicly, from a sense of duty, to differ with any respectable portion of the Whig party until the occasion alluded to.

hold and regard them as brethren. I am not here to censure them or to impugn their motives. I grant them all purity of motive, and all desire for right; but, sir, I am here to justify and defend my own motives and my own action on that occasion. What was that action? I did not presume, when I took my seat in the caucus of the Whig party, to arrogate to myself, or to that caucus, the prerogative of prescribing the rules that were to govern the representatives selected for the express purpose of nominating a candidate, and laying down such political principles as the party chose to be governed by. No, sir, that is the business of the Convention. It was the business of the caucus to select a place, and to suggest a time for the meeting of that Convention: this alone was its business, and further than this it had no authority, either delegated or customary, to go. In this spirit I took my seat in the caucus, disposed to discharge the duties imposed upon me. But when it was proposed by the gentleman from Kentucky, (Mr. Marshall,) and again by my honorable colleague from Tennessee, (Mr. Gentry,) to introduce certain resolutions that were ruled out of ornot presume, when I took my seat in the caucus of the Whig party, to arrogate to myself, or to that caucus, the prerogative of prescribing the rules that were to govern the representatives selected for the express purpose of nominating a candidate, and laying down such political principles as the party chose to be governed by. No, sir, that is the business of the Convention. It was the business of the caucus to select a place, and to suggest a time for the meeting of that Convention: this alone was its business, and further than this it had no authority, either delegated or customary, to go. In this spirit I took my seat in the caucus, disposed to discharge the duties imposed upon me. But when it was proposed by the gentleman from Kentucky, (Mr. Marshall,) and again by my honorable colleague from Tennessee, (Mr. Gentry.) to introduce certain resolutions that were ruled out of order by the Chair, they not being germane to the pending resolution, I deemed it to be my duty to sustain the Chair, and I voted conscientiously to that effect upon this strictly parliamentary question, we being governed in our dely parliamentary question, we being governed in our de-liberations by the rules of the Senate. But it was anliberations by the rules of the Senate. But it was announced by the meeting that the propositions would be entertained as substantive propositions, and as such I pledged them my support. I was not in favor of the resolution at that juncture, not because I am not now today, and have ever been, in favor of the compromise measures, and of the finality of those measures, and of declaring at a proper time that finality, but because I believed it would be trenching upon the legitimate duties of the Convention. I believed that that was a duty belonging to a convention called by the great body of the peothe Convention. I believed that that was a duty belonging to a convention called by the great body of the people, for the special purpose of laying down those rules. I thought that, perhaps, the great body of the American people might not choose to be dictated to by a self-censtituted caucus of Congressional gentlemen; and that, therefore, it was proper for them to do nothing more than to recommend a time and place for holding the National Convention.

When that resolution was announced, I stated to the macting that my capac of duty would compel me to specific

When that resolution was announced, I stated to the meeting that my sense of duty would compel me to sustain, as a parliamentary question, the position of the Chair, but that I would vote for the resolution of the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. Marshall) if it came up, and also that I would vote for the resolution of my colleague, (Mr. Genter,) and I called upon my Southern friends to remain and aid me in obtaining the passage of one of those resolutions; for, although I did not approve the introduction of those resolutions, yet, after they had been introduced, I felt willing to sustain them in a substantive manner.

Mr. Polk. I understand my colleague to be in favor of the finality of the compromise, and that his only reason for not sustaining the resolution of my colleague (Mr. GENTRY) in the caucus was that it was not introduced a a proper time and place. Now, I desire to ask the gen

leman one question.

Mr. Cullom. The gentleman misunderstands me; but he may state his question.

Mr. Polk. I desire to ask the gentleman, that, in case the Whig National Convention should refuse—

Mr. Cullom. Oh! I will come to that subject direct-

ly, sir.
Mr. Polk. I wish to know whether, in case the Whig

Convention should refuse to pass any resolution declaring the finality of the compromise, you will support their candidate for the Presidency?

Mr. Cullom. Not unless your party dodges that subject.

Mr. Cullom. Not unless your party dodges that subject. I had thought that the compromise measures which had become the settled law of the country, the compromise which had been endorsed by the Whig caucus at the beginning of the session, and which had received the endorsement of a majority of the Representatives of the American people in this House but the other day, might be considered as settled for the present. I had hoped that that would be satisfactory until the meeting of the National Conventions of the two parties of the country. But, inasmuch as doubts were entertained, inasmuch as some friends of the South thought it wore a threatening aspect—though I confess I have seen nothing to justify such an impression—I have seen no demonstration to arouse my though I confess I have seen nothing to justify such an impression—I have seen no demonstration to arouse my feelings as a Southern man; though the South is the land of my birth, and though my interests, whatever I have, are Southern interests, and my attachments all Southern, I would guard as carefully as any other man this great question—yet I say I had seen nothing to excite my fears upon this subject, or to prompt me to introduce resolutions into the caucus touching the subject; but I repeat that, resolutions having been introduced, I should have supported them had they been put to vote. But with all idue respect to every member of that caucus—and I am bound to believe that they all discharged their duties according to the best lights before them—I am constrained to say that I think the course of our receding friends was to say that I think the course of our receding friends was calculated to arouse sectional feelings. I thought that the withdrawal of Southern members from the caucus would tend to establish a geographical division, a sec-tional division in the country, and thus leave the whole great question of nominating a candidate for President of the United States entirely to our Northern friends, and therefore I was willing to remain; and I declared, before and after our friends retired from the caucus, that I was ready and willing to discharge the promise I had made to vote for the resolutions.

I have now before me a statement, prepared by a memfriends who withdrew had remained, the compromise re-solutions would have been passed by a majority of four, taking as a basis those who voted for the compromise, the Jackson resolution in this House, Hillyen's amendment, and those who declared in the caucus that they were ready to sustain them. I say that, according to this statement, which I am assured is correct, if our friends had remained in the caucus, the compromise resolution would have been passed by a majority of four.

Mr. Cabell, of Florida. I ask the gentleman to give

the names.

Mr. Cullom. I will send the gentleman the statement, and he can examine it for himself.

and he can examine it for himself.

Several Members. Read it! Read it!

Mr. Cullom. Now, Mr. Chairman, what was the object of the gentleman who led this movement, this stampede in the Whig caucus, I cannot say. I will only allude to my honorable friend from North Carolina, (Mr. Cling-MAN,) who was prominent in the retreating wing of that body, and who spoke, as by authority, for others. I ask that gentleman if he did not evince that he came to that that gentleman if he did not evince that he came to that caucus to carry out a certain purpose? Upon the condition of its being carried out, he would co-operate with the caucus; but if the purpose failed, he would secede. I say my honorable friend from North Carolina was prominent in the retreating forces on that occasion. To what extent he aided in bringing about that retreat or what nent in the retreating forces on that occasion. To what extent he aided in bringing about that retreat, or what command he held, I am not prepared to say; but I want to ask my friend if he did not come up there with the determination that the action of that caucus upon the finality of the compromise should determine whether or not he would further co-operate with the Whig party? Now, sir, when did my honorable friend from North Carolina become so warmly attached to the compromise measures? I find, by reference to the Journal, that he voted against the major part of those measures.

against the major part of those measures. Mr. CLINGMAN. Does the gentleman expect me to an swer his questions? I will do it with great pleasure.

Mr. Cullon. Not now.

Mr. Clingman. Then I suppose the gentleman ask questions he does not desire to have answered.

Mr. Cullon. I will answer from the Journal. If misrepresent the gentleman when I say that he voted against most of the compromise measures, I wish to be

Mr. CLINGMAN. I will say that I should like very much to answer, but if he prefers, let him refer to the Journal and to my speeches in connexion with it, and answer from Mr. Cullom. The honorable gentleman from North

Carolina voted against the compromise resolutions this session. He gave us notice in the caucus that, unless certain resolutions which he proposed were reported, he would not support the resolution of the gentleman from

would not support the resolution of the gentleman from Kentucky, (Mr. Marshall.)

Mr. Chingman. I said that that resolution did not the chingman is say I would not you precisely meet my views. I did not say I would not vote

Mr. Cullon. The gentleman said he would propose

Mr. Cullow. The gentleman said he would propose something as a substitute; whether free trade or secession resolutions I did not then know. Now, suppose that the honorable gentleman had remained, and had offered his substitute; if he would not vote for the resolution of the gentleman frem Kentucky, could he have expected the gentleman from Kentucky would support his amendment? What splendid confusion it would have made! Why, sir, it would have been \*confusion worse confounded." If our friends had remained, would he have produced harmony? The substitute of the gentleman might not have met the approbation of those who retired, or of those who remained. Was he to rule the Whig party, not claiming to be a Whig, and not acting with the Whigs?

Mr. CLINGMAN. I showed it to them, and they said they Mr. CLINGMAN. I showed it to them, and they said they

would vote for it.
Mr. CULLOM. I know nothing about that. But what party in the coming campaign; and I regret deeply, I express it here, that I should have had occasion in the meeting to differ with any portion of my Whig bream—(I will call them brethren, because I have stood by side with them for years.) With them I have the party in the glorious and cherished conservative principles of our common party—the principles which involve weal and perpetuity of the institutions of our great, prosperous, and happy country. I have been with min victory and defeat; but, sir, I have never been and upon publicly, from a sense of duty, to differ with respectable portion of the Whig party until the occasion. I shall still which is an object to the compromise mean this subject of the compromise mean this subject of the compromise mean this subject. As a friend of the compromise mean upon this subject? As a friend of the compromise mean this subject? As a friend of the compromise mean upon this subject? As a friend of the compromise mean upon this subject? As a friend of the compromise mean this subject? As a friend of the compromise mean upon this subject? As a friend of the compromise mean upon this subject? As a friend of the compromise mean upon this subject? As a friend of the compromise mean upon this subject? As a friend of the compromise mean upon this subject? As a friend of the compromise mean upon this subject? As a friend of the compromise mean upon this subject? As a friend of the compromise mean upon this subject? As a friend of the compromise mean upon this subject? As a friend of the compromise mean upon the form North Carolina upon this subject? As a friend of the compromise mean upon the subject? As a friend of the compromise mean upon the subject? As a friend of the compromise mean upon the subject? I have been a party of the institutions of our great, prosperous, and perpetuity of the institutions of our great, prosperous, and perpetuity of the institutions of our great, prosperous, and perpetuity of the institutions of our great, prosperous, and perpetuity of the institu

pages 201, 203, and 204, Mi. CLINGMAN said:

"I gave my reasons at length, fou uded chiefly on my own recent observation of the state of public senti, uent in the North, we believing that a cellision was insvitable, and the 4 the sooner it came the better for all parties."—[Page 201.

"They (the Northern men) knew that the evils already inflicted on us, to which I have redward, greatly excluded in amount any injury-that Great Britain attempted when she dr. we the colonies into resist ance."—[Page 203.

"Seeing that there appeared to be a settled vurpose in the North to put them to the wall, many of our people, vegarding a dissolution of the Union as the inevitable result of this aggravation, looked forward to the consequences of such a state of things."—[Page 203.

"What would be our condition if separated from the North? \* \*
Subjecting the goods of the North to a duty with those from other foreign countries would at once give a powerful stimrdus to our own manufactures."—[Page 204.

In claiming a fair settlement of the Territorial question.

In the same speech he speaks of stopping the wheels of Government, and says:

"And if it is ascertained that no proper settlement can be got ten of the territorial question, it would be in the power of the Southern members to defeat all the appropriation bills, and bring the Government to a dead halt."

ernment to a dead halt."

Again, he says:

"I tell gentlemen if we cannot, in advance, get a fair settlement of this question. I should be pleased to see the civil and diplomatic bill, the army and navy bill, and all other appropriations, fail."

Now, after this settlement of the Territorial question, as he desired it, without restriction, at the next session, on the 15th February, 1851, [Appendix to Cong. Globe, 31st Cong. 2d sess.] he spoke of rejoicing that the people no longer rested on the Union as the solid rock of safety.

That, sir, was the position of my honorable friend then, and yet he is now to be made the leader and head of this great third or Union party which is to merge the two

and yet he is now to be made the leader and head of this great third or Union party which is to merge the two great political parties.

My honorable friend from North Carolina, (Mr. Outlaw,) and the honorable and talented and patriotic gentlemen who co-operated with him, I know would not push their doctrines to that extreme; but I am faithfully showing the extremes to which they would certainly be carfried should they follow the lead of the gentleman, (Mr. Clingman.) Misery loves company, and my friend appears elated at the position he has attained in bringing gentlemen into the meshes of his schemes; but they will not go these lengths—they are, I hope, true and loyal.

Now, Mr. Chairman, yourself and the country may see the reasons upon which I might have acted in remaining in the caucus, and why I should not retreat. My construction of the Whig creed will not permit a man to run away from his duty. I preferred to remain and do my duty; if consequences followed which I could not control, I could not, of course, be made responsible. I am in favor of the finality of the compromise here, and I am for it in the National Whig Convention, and I ardently hope to see it there adopted. I may add that I have said upon the stump, and in public and private conversation, that I am for the finality of the compromise, and that I will support no man for the Presidency who is not sound upon those measures, the fugitive slave law included.

Mr. CLINGMAN. As my honorable friend from Tennessee has asked me several questions, will he now permit me to ask him one?

Mr. CLINGMAN. I have no time to spare.

Mr. CLINGMAN. I have no time to spare.

Mr. CLINGMAN. I will not detain the gentleman one moment. I desire to know why the gentleman did not introduced his resolution into the caucus? If he had introduced his resolution into the caucus? If he had introduced his resolution into the caucus? If he had introduced his resolution into the caucus? If he had introduced his resolution into the caucus?

introduce his resolution into the caucus? If he had introduced his resolution, and it had failed, and the vote had shown that those who retired could have carried it, he might then have established his point. The gentleman intimated his intention to introduce it. Why did he not

do so?

Mr. Cullon. I have fully explained my reasons. If the gentleman doubted whether these resolutions could pass before leaving, I might have my doubts after these members had retired; and being ardent in my support of the principles of these resolutions, I did not choose to submit them to a doubtful decision, though I was clear in the be-lief then, and am confirmed in it now, that the resolutions would have passed had the receding friends remained with me and given them their support, as I was ready to do.

But the Democratic party have no cause for exultation.

The Whig party, in Congressional caucus did, at the com-mencement of the session, endorse the compromise and its finality, which the Democrats refused to do. This places the Whig party on prominent ground, and I trust that the Delegates will assemble in the Convention with a manly, a Roman courage, and face this question; for it is cowardice that gives Abolitionism and higher-lawism a place in the bosom of Americans. The constitution, in place in the bosom of Americans. The constitution, in all its provisions, and the laws passed under it, must be executed and carried out if we would maintain inviolate the liberties and sacred privileges vouchsafed to us by that constitution which is the result of the seven years' war through which our Washington and his compeers stood shoulder to shoulder, regardless of the many and trying scenes and viciasitudes of that most eventful period. What scenes and viciasitudes of that most eventful period. What earthly law, Mr. Chairman, can be higher than that de-rived from the constitution? From that source we derive rived from the constitution? From that source we derive peace, prosperity, happiness, and give countenance and protection to men of all nations, to all religions, and all creeds. Destroy that bulwark of American liberty, and chaos would come again. Then, indeed, would we have higher law and higher license, which is, in truth, the proper definition, aim, and import of higher law. That man who is against the execution of the plain provisions of the constitution, ought not to be dignified with the name of American citizen, and surely cannot be called an American statesman. That is what I say; and I tell our Northern brethren that instead of catering to this unholy and can statesman. That is what I say; and I tell our North-ern brethren that, instead of catering to this unholy and unjust crusade against the South and its institutions, you should rise above sectional feeling, and Americanize, na-tionalize your hearts, and meet this issue which dema-gogues have obtruded upon you, and frown down all at-tempts to rekindle the fire of discord between the two great sections of this Union. Nothing but courage is

great sections of this Union. Nothing but courage is wanting to overcome this evil.

But this Union party is to be formed, and my friend from North Carolina (Mr. CLINGMAN) is to be the first President of the Southern Confederacy, if we get up a geographical split; for it will tend to that; and there will be a sontest between the gentleman from Florida (Mr. CABELL) and the gentleman from North Carolina, (Mr. CLINGMAN.) [Laughter.] There will be an awful seceding then; there will be a worse scramble for place and power than there was in the Whig caucus. Mark it! But the Union party—I ask, in the name of all that is honest, is not the Whig party a part of the Union party? Have I been fighting the battle of the Whigs! Have I emerged from the smoke and din of so many glorious battles, either ed from the smoke and din of so many glorious battles, eithe at the head or in the ranks, to learn that I have been fighting against my country and her institutions? Forbid it, Heaven! I hope the Whig and Democratic parties bid it, Heaven! I hope the Whig and Democratic parties both are Union parties; and, notwithstanding the excrescences in both parties, both are friendly to this Union. And that man who says the Whig party is not devoted to this glorious Union slanders as gallant a band of patriots as the sun ever fell upon, and proclaims in doing so that he is either ignorant of the truth or wilfully at fault. I am not ashamed of the name of Whig; it is no reproach. Our fathers bore it, and I have fought many a political Our fathers bore it, and I have fought many a political battle under it. I seek no new alliances. I will neither add an alias to my name nor forsake my companions. In my advocacy of Whig principles I have only the interests of my country to subserve, and I feel that the advancement of those principles will best accomplish the desired object. I am for the constitution and its compromises. object. I am for the constitution and its compromises.

How is this third party to be organized? Upon sectional grounds, of course. I cannot fully discuss this subject here. Our gallant candidate in the last gubernatorial campaign in Tennessee labored manfully to keep the party on national ground; and fierce was the war against secessionists and ultras. The doctrines of the opposition

had a strong resemblance to those of the gentleman from North Carolina, (Mr. CLINGMAN;) but in the struggle the North Carolina, (Mr. CLINGMAN;) but in the struggle the Whigs were victorious, and the verdict of the people was in favor of the Union and the Constitution, and the faithful execution of the laws, and especially did they repudiate all agitation; and while the North observes strictly the compact, (and candor obliges me to say I believe it will be observed,) I do trust that the South will not unnecessarily agitate the question. Our fire-eating disunion friends came in for their full share of the anathedisunion friends came in for their full share of the anathemas meted out to the freesoilers. They shared equally my denunciations: no; I never denounce any body but argumentatively, for I am a mild man. [Laughter.] But in my honest judgment the men at the South who are contending for the right of the States to seede from this glorious Union, and who are urging its exercise upon trivial pretexts, are grossly culpable. Equally culpable are those at the North who agitate this subject, and who, for opposite reasons, would destroy the fabric of our liberties. Thus extremes are often found among those who co-operate in some respects. A proper view, and a conciliatory grid.